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MESSAGE.

Gentlemen of the Senate
and House of Delegates:

With profound gratitude to Almighty God, for the protecting arm which has been extended over us, during the rebellion which has desolated so large a portion of our common country, I meet you for the first time in the official relation in which I have been placed by the people of Maryland. It is a scource of heartfelt congratulation, that we come together, at such a time, and under such auspices. No event has transpired in the progress of human government, which has created a more hopeful feeling throughout the civilized world, or a more well grounded confidence in the success of Republican Institutions, and the right of the people now and hereafter to control their own destiny, than the overwhelming triumph of free principles, in the conflict which has so recently terminated in the restoration of peace within our borders, by the return of the disloyal States to a common allegiance. The experience of the past with its record of blood and human suffering, will not be without its lesson to those who may question at any time hereafter the power and determination of this Government, to defend itself against designing men, or combinations from whatever quarter, to throw themselves in the way of its success. The Union of these States must be maintained. Civilization and progress, and the claims of human freedom, alike demand, that while we take no step backward, in the great march upon which we have entered, the principles of Republican Government will be steadily persevered in, and all adverse influence, however interposed, whether at home or abroad, will be promptly resisted, by whatever power this government may be able to exert.

REASON FOR THE CALL OF AN EXTRA SESSION.

The Finances of the State, under the extraordinary demands growing out of the rebellion, and the failure to make our credit available under the provisions of the late Bounty Act, upon terms satisfactory to the Treasurer, impose upon me

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the duty of calling you together in advance of the time appointed for the regular meeting of the General Assembly. In providing for this necessity, I shall avail myself of the occasion thus offered, to bring to your notice, other and perhaps not less important measures of domestic policy, which I feel justified in submitting for your action at this time.

The period within which your session is limited by the Constitution, renders it proper that in any recommendations I may feel it my duty to submit, I should confine myself to such only, as I deem of pressing and urgent necessity, in order that no time may be consumed, in the discussion and consideration of other measures, which however desirable, may without detriment, be postponed to the regular meeting of the Legislature, in January next.

THE FINANCES.

In dealing with the Finances, I cannot impress upon you too great caution, in giving your sanction to appropriations entailing additional burthens upon the people. This would be the dictate of prudence in any condition of the Treasury. At the same time, I should feel, that I had not discharged my duty, if I did not urge, as due to the position and credit of the State of Maryland, the adoption of a policy, justified by your undoubted ability and resources, and commensurate with whatever may be required, not only in maintaining your reputation for public spirit in the past; but in pressing forward such reforms and inprovements as may be demanded by the change in your organic law and the example of your sister States. Appropriations judiciously made, do not necessarily involve onerous taxation, and experience abundantly shows, that true economy is sometimes to be found, in a timely and liberal use of the public money. In tracing the origin and progress of our present State debt, we find it referable, in a great measure, to the necessities of our geographical position. Maryland, more perhaps than any other State, required the free use of capital. The value of the facilities which she offered, depended upon development, as much so, as the products of her mines, depended upon the labor necessary to make them available. There were statesmen of enlarged views in those days, who appreciated the difficulties of our position, and foresaw in the liberal use of the public credit, the great results, which have since confirmed the wisdom of their action.

It is a fact worthy of note in this connection, that the Act of June 4th, 1835, appropriating eight millions of dollars to works of internal improvement, which brought into the State in a trying crisis a large amount of capital from abroad, gave the first vigorous and decisive impetus, to the growth and prosperity of the State of Maryland. But for the encourage-

ment thus held out, in aid of individual enterprise, it is fair to presume, that we should have maintained, at best, but a sickly existence, in the face of embarrassments and rivalries, which everywhere threatened to retard our progress. In 1847, before the Baltimore and Ohio Rail Road Company entered upon their work of extension, from Cumberland to the Ohio river, the City of Baltimore had reached the last stage of commercial depression. Nothing short of a bold and determined policy, and the most liberal use of the public credit, could have saved our people, from the consequences of a ruinous collapse. The State of Maryland—limited both in area and population—was not so in other leading characteristics, which have marked her subsequent development. Her position was central—her climate unsurpassed—her harbor opening to the great West and the valley of the Mississippi, the most accessible outlet to the ocean—her minerals varied and inexhaustible—her water power abundant, and her lands adapted to every species of profitable cultivation. A distinguished writer, speaking of the national debt of Great Britain, at the close of the Revolutionary war, when that government attempted to saddle us with a share of her burthen, under a belief that its weight was too heavy to be borne, without the aid of her colonies, takes occasion to remark, in connection with the panic, which everywhere seized the public mind, that, "while shallow politicians were repeating, that the energies of the people were borne down by the weight of public burthens, the first journey was performed by steam on a railway. Soon the Island was intersected by railways. A sum exceeding the whole amount of the national debt at the end of the American war was, in a few years, voluntarily expended by this ruined people, in viaducts, tunnels, embankments, bridges, stations, engines. Meanwhile taxation was almost constantly becoming lighter. Yet still the exchequer was full. It may now be affirmed, without fear of contradiction, that we find it as easy to pay the interest on eight hundred millions, as our ancestors found it a century ago to pay the interest on eighty millions." In this picture from a high British authority, we have a just illustration of the origin and effect, of the bold and liberal policy, which has marked our past legislation. The enormous sum of thirty millions of dollars has been contributed by the State in the loan of her credit and otherwise, to her great works of improvement, and this is increased by a still larger amount of individual capital, encouraged and stimulated, by just estimates of her domestic power and resources. Nor are we the less prosperous, because of the failure of some of these appropriations, to make direct returns to the Treasury. In the financial crisis of 1837–38, there were those among the most prominent and leading of our

statesmen, who despaired of her recovery from the universal bankruptcy, which swept over the country. At the close of the fiscal year of 1863, her sinking fund had increased to such an extent as to justify a large reduction of the taxes, and her Treasury contained more than a million of surplus over and above her legitimate wants. It may be gratifying to the people of the State to know that the whole increase of the permanent debt, referable to the expenditures of the war, owing to the healthy condition in which the Treasury was found, and the aids furnished by taxation, does not exceed up to this time $501,000, and our claim upon the General Government, should the war debt of the States be assumed by Congress—a measure not unlikely to be reported during its present session, will amount to $5,000,000 and upwards.

In referring to this subject, at the present time, it is not my purpose to venture, to any great extent, suggestions and recommendations, in advance of the official reports of the Comptroller and Treasurer, which belong more appropriately to the business of the regular session. The brief period, during which I have been connected with the Executive office, and the undeveloped results of measures inaugurated by the new Constitution, would render necessary a more thorough and detailed examination into the general subject of the Finances, before I should feel justified in asking your co-operation in plans which would be subject to modifications and changes, by events yet to transpire. How the annual receipts of the Treasury may be affected hereafter, by the change in our system of labor, and the reorganization now going forward, will be fully ascertained and reported before the next stated meeting of the General Assembly.

EXEMPTION OF BOUNTY BONDS FROM TAXATION.

The Act of February 6th, 1864, Chapter 15, passed at your last session, appropriating four millions of dollars, to be used in bounties to the Maryland troops enlisting under the last call of President Lincoln, has failed to answer the object of the Legislature. The Treasurer, after advertising for a portion of this loan, deemed it advisable, from the inadequacy of the bids, to suspend further action until the Legislature could be convened, and the subject brought again to their consideration. It could hardly have been expected that, in competition with Government and other securities offering the strongest temptation as to soundness at much more favorable rates of interest, the Bonds of the State of Maryland could be thrown upon the market, unless at great disadvantage. The bounties paid by the Comptroller, up to the present time, have reached $3,678,600. I would recommend that the Bounty Act be so amended as to exempt these Bonds from both State, County and Municipal taxation, before another

attempt is made to offer them in the market. It has always seemed to me of doubtful expediency, in the legislation of a State, to permit any interference, so far as the power of the State extends, with the established rate of interest agreed upon with the public creditor. The State Bonds heretofore authorized, purporting to yield on their face an annual interest of six per cent,, will be found under existing laws and exactions to fall greatly below that standard; and as a consequence any reduction in the marketable value of the State securities, from this liability to taxation, must operate, in any future negotiation, as a direct drawback upon the Treasury. The exemption of these Bonds will be attended with a large saving to the State. Coupled with the modification above suggested, I would further recommend the sale of the stock held by the State in her incorporated banking institutions, which so far as at present represented by the Public School or Sinking Fund, could be changed to the Bounty Bonds proposed to be negotiated, reducing to that extent the amount necessary to be thrown upon the market.

The desire to meet the indebtedness growing out of the Bounty Act, by the non-user of the proposed issue, and the substitution of accruing revenue, ought not to be suffered to limit of the ability of the Treasury to contribute to objects of current interest by trammelling the only available means at the disposal of the Legislature. The floating obligations incurred by the Treasuer should be provided for by a sale of the Bonds, authorized under the Bounty Act, to the extent that may be required, at such convenient time after their exemption from taxation as may be deemed most advantageous. I have every reason to believe that the arrangement indicated by me, will enable the Treasurer to retire the obligations incurred in the payment of bounties, on terms that will not interfere with the present high credit of the State.

Without an effort in this direction, to provide at maturity for temporary loans to a large amount advanced by the banks of the City of Baltimore and elsewhere, with the assurance that the State would be forthcoming with the necessary means without a further extension of time, it would be difficult to retire obligations maturing in the next sixty days, without an unnecessary sacrifice of the State credit. As this is a measure of pressing necessity, I would ask the action of the Legislature with as little delay as practicable.

RE-ASSESSMENT OF PROPERTY.

It would be impossible, under the Assessment Act of May 29, 1852, providing for the general valuation of property in this State, to form any just estimate of the ability of the Treasury to meet probable or extraordinary demands, likely to arise in the progress of our affairs, or to adopt any fixed

standard of expenditure in the future. This law, establishing our present basis of taxation, was never fully executed; and the time which has elapsed since the last Assessment took place, with the changes which have been wrought in the reduction and enhancement of values, and the introduction of new capital into the State, render it indispensable to a proper understanding of our real financial condition, that an accurate official schedule should be immediately prepared, of the aggregate property of the State, fairly subject to taxation. I have reason to believe that a considerable amount of capital is now exempt from taxation, which, if brought into the general exhibit, would tend to equalize the burthens imposed upon our people, by an enlargement of the basis, and materially contribute to the relief of the Treasury. Until this is done, it is evident that every day's delay must be attended with positive injustice to the individual tax-payer, as well as the loss of a large amount of revenue to the State.

I deem this measure of so much practical interest, in advance of a detailed exhibit of the state of the finances, that I feel it my duty to commend it to your earliest consideration. In the action of the Legislature, in any plan which may be adopted looking to this result, the greatest caution should be observed in securing the services of agents of the strictest impartiality and business capacity, that justice may be done to all in the proposed reassessment, at the same time that assurance may be given of a just and fair valuation of the real and personal property of the State subject to taxation.

THE CHESAPEAKE BAY. ITS VALUE TO THE STATE OF MARYLAND AS A SOURCE OF REVENUE.

For years past that portion of the Chesapeake Bay, under the ownership and jurisdiction of the State of Maryland, representing a large amount of her substantial wealth, has been a field for unlicensed marauders, paying no tax whatever to the State. Roaming unrestrained over its waters, they have respected no right of property in the State of Maryland. Not satisfied with the freedom of its more frequented resorts, they have penetrated into its coves and estuaries, and in many instances appropriated, without return, the labor of our own citizens. The products of this Bay belong to the State as absolutely as her great staples of wheat and tobacco belong to the individual owners of the land on which they are produced. Nor are they less valuable as legitimate sources of revenue to the State treasury. The Act passed at the last session of the General Assembly has, thus far, resulted in no practical benefit in correcting the abuses to which we have been exposed. Our citizens have been subjected to tribute, while no adequate check has been imposed upon strangers, living and doing business beyond our limits.

The oyster trade has now increased to immense proportions. It is much to be regretted that no reliable data, accessible to me at this time, furnish even a proximate estimate, of its extended ramifications and results. Its value to the State of Maryland may be inferred, however, from the operations of the leading houses engaged in this business in the City of Baltimore. It is fair to assume that eight-tenths of the oysters taken from the Chesapeake Bay find a market in other States, and not one-third of this immense trade makes any return to the public treasury. The entire amount of revenue derived from this source, since the passage of the law, will not exceed $36,000.

A prompt modification of the existing Act is imperatively called for, not only as a measure of justice to the State treasury, but to our own citizens, who are placed at disadvantage in competition with those who intrude themselves, without license or authority, into our waters. I would recommend the immediate appointment of an officer, whose duty it shall be to exercise a vigilant supervision over this large and daily increasing trade, with the control of a revenue steamer, properly equipped, to be employed under his direction, whenever it may be required, to examine the permits of all vessels engaged in the oyster trade within the jurisdiction of the State of Maryland, and the imposition of the heaviest penalties upon all persons violating the laws of the State. I would suggest, also, that any expense growing out of the proposed change, be provided by a tax upon the trade, and from fines and confiscations, collected in the strict enforcement of such law as the Legislature may enact.

ENCOURAGEMENT TO IMMIGRATION.

The liberal encouragemont of our agricultural interests, in view of the inconvenience resulting from the change in our system of labor, will commend itself to your special attention. The majority of our people live by the pursuits of agriculture; and these have depended for development heretofore upon slave labor. The prompt emancipation of the negro race, and the withdrawal of a large class of this population, to do duty in another sphere, render it important that some action should be taken to avert the consequences attending this change, already seriously felt, in many parts of the State. Measures have been adopted in some of the States to supply the wants of the people, by the introduction of emigrant labor from abroad. No State will need an effort in this direction more than our own. A bill looking to this object failed to meet your sanction at the last session of your honorable body. It has seemed to me that the only effective mode of inviting emigrants to our State will be to satisfy them of its facilities for the profita-

ble employment of almost every species of labor. Immigrant agencies can accomplish little without the controlling argument, based upon the advantages of climate, soil, and position; and surely no State, south or north, can present the same convincing inducements. The capitalist will be attracted by cheap and productive lands, while the day-laborer will expect a healthy climate, steady employment and fair wages. A system of expensive agencies would, in my judgment, be less effective in accomplishing what we have in view than a well organized plan for bringing to the notice of emigrants from foreign countries landing upon our shores, authentic and reliable statistics upon all points of enquiry connected with their various objects and pursuits. Such information, bearing an official stamp and distributed by a recognized officer of the State, would exert a powerful influence in giving direction to the stream of population looking to this country for a permanent home. Connected with such a plan would be the duty of keeping always open to inspection a reliable schedule of all property in the State, in the market for sale, with the prices annexed, and all demands for labor, whether for agricultural or other purposes. Such a Bureau, organized as it might be, with an office in Baltimore, while it would involve no large expenditure, could not fail to be attended with immediate and practical results, and prove highly advantageous to the agricultural, manufacturing and mining interests of the State.

In organizing, upon a proper basis, the present Board of Public Works, under the provisions of the new Constitution, a measure wholly indispensable to render it effective, it would be advisable to blend with it the general supervision of the plan of the immigrant agency proposed to be created, with a view to efficiency and economy in both departments. This board is now composed of the Governor, Comptroller and Treasurer, and is charged with duties of the heaviest responsibility. The establishment of an office in Baltimore —the converging point of our net-work of railways, as well as the recognized commercial centre of our State—with the proposed Commissioner of Immigration to act as its permanent Secretary and the custodian of its charts and papers—ready at all times to impart reliable information in regard to the affairs of the State—while it would place under a proper organization the existing Board of Public Works, would accomplish at the same time the object we have in view, connected with the settlement of our lands and the introduction of capital from abroad. Maryland stands greatly in need of both men of capital to occupy her lands and labor to make them productive. She needs also a farther and larger development of her great manufacturing facilities. Without an effort on the part of her authorities, it may be years

before these wants will be adequately supplied. While other States are pressing forward, Maryland must not lag behind; and it cannot be doubted that the results of her great future may be hastened by timely and vigorous legislation. I would invite the earnest attention of the General Assembly to this important subject, and urge, in view of the large influx of foreign emigrants likely to arrive upon our shores in the next few years, and the great advantage of securing a fair proportion to our State, that the subject receive your earnest attention. It will be perceived that the plan suggested involves little more than the necessary organization of the Board of Public works, as provided for in the Constitution; and the immigration feature which it is intended to embody, may be dispensed with whenever the objects to be accomplished have been so far successful as to render further effort in this direction no longer indispensable. Any expense attending the establishment of this Board should be made to fall rateably upon the receipts into the Treasury of all the Internal Improvement Companies holding charters from the State.

HARBOR OF BALTIMORE—SHIP CHANNEL—OCEAN STEAMERS.

The transition through which we are now passing, and the important geographical position of our State, as established by the events and statistics of the last four years, both in the relation in which we stand to the seat of the Federal Government, as well as our sister States, suggest the necessity for increased effort in the new career upon which we are entering. The central State upon the Atlantic coast, Maryland, has heretofore claimed to be the first, in the facilities which she offers, of commercial interchange with the great Valley of the Mississippi, and the remote States of the West; and certainly stands at no disadvantage in the characteristics of climate, soil, minerals, including coal and iron, water power, and convenient egress to the more distant markets of our own and other countries. More than ten years ago, while in charge of your chief work of Internal Improvement, I took occasion to remark, in an address to the people of Baltimore, while illustrating the effect of the system of Rail Roads, then being projected, that "the geographical position of Baltimore, aided by her cheap tonnage communication with the West, must demonstrate that both New York and Boston will seek, as a measure of economy, to form their combinations *through her*, as the most advantageous, by which to supply the wants of the great West and the Valley of the Mississippi." These views have lost none of their practical weight. On the contrary, they have steadily grown in importance. It was no part of my policy, at that early period, in any agency I may

have had in connecting the waters of the Chesapeake and Ohio, to treat your labors as ended, with the completion of that stupendous line of intercommunication. To secure to the City of Baltimore—your chief commercial centre—the benefits of an *original* market, and not the limited results of a mere place of *transit*, was the broader view which seemed to demand attention. In furtherance of this object, it became my duty, as the head of the Municipal Government of the City of Baltimore, to co-operate at a subsequent period with a Board of intelligent and practical gentlemen, in an effort to deepen the approach to our Harbor by the construction of a Ship Channel, of sufficient capacity for the passage of vessels of the heaviest burthen. This was measurably accomplished during my administration, and as an indispensable adjunct to the Baltimore and Ohio Rail Road, and a practical extension of that great line in its combinations with our coast-wise and foreign markets, could hardly have been viewed with too much interest by the people of the State.

In January, 1852, the subject was brought for the first time to the attention of the Board of Trade of the City of Baltimore, and through their efforts mainly, resulted in an appropriation of $50,000 on the part of the City. The Legislature also granted a return to the City of auction duties, amounting to about $16,000 per annum, and Congress appropriated $40,000 in the River and Harbor Bill of that year. These moneys have been judiciously expended, and have demonstrated the practicability of deepening the Patapsco River to any required extent, with the assurance of permanency, when so improved. Commercially, the West and North West have the deepest interest in the extension of our great line of improvement, and, in a National point of view, it may be assumed that from the Tortugas to the Bay of Fundy, with perhaps a single exception, the Chesapeake Bay offers the most tempting point for the investment and anchorage of an invading squadron.

The Channel thus constructed was soon found inadequate to the present or prospective requirements of a great market. As a commencement, however, one of the most useful improvements heretofore projected, it has, as before hinted, developed results of the greatest practical value to the City of Baltimore, and indirectly to the whole State. It is ascertained, by accurate soundings, under the direction of experienced and reliable engineers, made during my connection with the work, that the concurrence of natural causes, so far, has been to enlarge rather than obstruct the capacity of this artificial channel, thus showing the permanent character of what has been done, and encouraging renewed efforts toward the prompt accomplishment of what still remains to make the work complete.

The value of the Harbor of Baltimore in a National point of view, has been fully established by the results of this rebellion. A depot for Naval Stores was found indispensable in a locality contiguous to the seat of Government, at a very early stage of the war; and the large transactions centering here in commissary supplies for the general service, demonstrated its claims as a commanding point of supply and distribution. Looking to the great mineral region of Allegany County—its inexhaustible deposits of the best Coals for manufacturing and Naval purposes, and the facility and cheapness with which their transfer to the seaboard may be effected, it is a matter of surprise that it has not long since attracted the notice of the public authorities. No better illustration could be furnished of the value of this point to the Federal Government than the passenger and tonnage statistics of the Baltimore and Ohio Rail Road, from the breaking out to the termination of the war. I would simply state, that connected with our military operations alone, there were transported during that period, of troops and army followers, 3,460,000; of horses, mules and cattle, 436,000; of ambulances and wagons, 93,000, besides more than 600,000 tons of equipage, subsistence and war material!

The location of a Naval Station at the only point convenient for the protection of the seat of Government, in time of war, commanding at all times available communications with the vast depots and granaries of the West, would seem to commend itself as a necessary consequence, from the experience of the past. But in any view the laws of supply and demand, regulated by low prices and cheap transportation, will make the Harbor of Baltimore the rendezvous of a trade in which the Government will not be the least interested participant.

Within a short time past, in anticipation of our probable future in this respect, a movement was inaugurated looking to the immediate establishment of a line of European steamers, from the Harbor of Baltimore, under the auspices of the Baltimore and Ohio Rail Road Company. Four of the vessels intended for this service are already in the hands of this enterprising Company, and are of a class to insure efficient service until others of heavier tonnage can be substituted. With the success of the experiment, now no longer doubtful, I am informed that the number of these vessels will be increased, and the scheme may be made eventually to embrace in its scope the accommodation of all the prominent home markets upon our coast.

Every indication, since the abolishment of slavery within our limits, and the successful close of the rebellion, points to increased activity in the general revival of trade. At no period has the future of our State been more encouraging. The cordial co-operation in these efforts by the authorities of the

State, will doubtless be cheerfully accorded, in whatever manner may best conduce to the carrying out of plans so intimately connected with our common prosperity.

I would recommend, that steps be taken at once, to bring the attention of our representatives in Congress, during its present session, to the advantage of the harbor of Baltimore, in connection with our naval marine, in an economical point of view, and the strong claims of our State, to aid from Congress, in recommencing the work upon our ship channel, with a view to a competent and unobstructed highway to the ocean, at the earliest practicable day. The amount of appropriation needed will be nominal compared with its value and importance to the Government.

REORGANIZATION OF THE MILITIA.

At your last session a report was submitted, detailing a plan for the reorganization of the Militia of the State, comprising many practical and useful features, suggested by the unsettled condition in which the country was placed by the rebellion. The Legislature having failed to act upon the subject, owing to the multiplicity of important and urgent measures of domestic policy engaging the attention of your body at that time, and the limited period within which you were compelled to close your labors, I feel constrained to bring it again to your attention. The triumphant close of the war, does not release us from the necessity of adopting some suitable plan for the protection of the State. While it is no part of my policy, to recommend in time of peace, any system which shall interfere with the industrial pursuits of our citizens, or the imposition of any unreasonable tax upon the services of those subject to militia duty, it must be admitted that a government constituted as we are, cannot be considered perfect, without the presence at all times of a living military organization, subject to the call of the Executive and Legislature, in times of extraordinary emergency. Taking the report heretofore submitted as a basis, it has seemed to me, that a plan may be readily matured, avoiding every just ground of objection, and competent to ensure the public safety against ordinary disturbance. It cannot be denied, that the neglect of this duty in the past, has been attended with both loss and humiliation to our people. In times of profound peace, we should not forget the contingencies to which the State is always exposed; and by making timely provision for probable or possible events, inspire confidence in the ability of the authorities, to afford assistance at all times, to those who have a right to look to them for protection.

MAIMED AND DISABLED SOLDIERS.

Some provision on the part of the State, seems to be demanded, for the maintenance and support, of the maimed and disabled soldiers, who have returned to their homes, from the bloody strife in which they have so bravely upheld the credit of their native State, during the four years of this rebellion. From the Potomac to the Rio Grande—upon every field which this conflict has made memorable, the blood of these gallant men has been poured out in defence of a government which they prized more than their lives. Maryland has just cause to be proud of her returned veterans. They are the cherished records of a conflict, which in the magnitude of its proportions, stands without a parallel in the world's history, and which in the probabilities of the future, giving all due weight to the excesses of human madness, can never be repeated in our own. At a time when the perils of war looked most portentous and threatening—when the fate of Republican government trembled in the balance—amidst the sneers and discouragement, with profound sorrow be it said, of a large class of our own citizens—these brave and patriotic men, flocked to the standard of their country. A border State, with the capital of the Union identified with its destiny, Maryland had her sympathies so indicated—could not have provoked the certain destruction of an encounter with twenty millions of freemen. But a nobler impulse governed her action. She loved the Union, because of the countless blessings which it had conferred upon her; she loved it as the only successful check upon the unbridled march of despotic power; she loved it as the home and centering point of that principle of universal freedom, which caused us to seek a home on this continent. When the old flag, glittering with the proud symbols of a nationality to which she was indissolubly bound, received the first shock of the brooding storm, the true sons of Maryland were among the first who rushed to its rescue; and these are the men for whom your sympathies are invoked. Without the ability to be any longer useful to themselves or their country—shattered and disabled by the toils and hardships of war, they throw themselves upon the protecting arm of their native State. The reference of their claim to a select committee of your body, may lead to the maturing of plans, which may do justice to the great services they have rendered, and show by your liberality, the appreciation in which they are held by a grateful and admiring people.

THE NAVAL ACADEMY—ITS REMOVAL FROM ANNAPOLIS.

In the Annual Report of the Secretary of the Navy objections are urged to the present location of the Naval Academy at Annapolis, chiefly upon the ground of the inconvenience arising

from the limited space within which the operations of the School are now confined. I do not infer from the recommendation of the able Secretary, that it is his purpose or desire to remove this institution beyond the limits of the State of Maryland. Against any such purpose we should have just cause to enter our most earnest protest. No doubt seems to be entertained as to the entire suitableness of the present location, so far as harbor, climate, and other essential features, excepting space, are concerned. The subject of the enlargement of the grounds to any reasonable extent required by the Government, has never been brought officially to the attention of either the authorities of the State or the city of Annapolis. I have reason to believe, from a full and careful examination into this subject, that every requirement of the Secretary may be promptly met, and upon terms quite as satisfactory as could be obtained in any other locality, to say nothing of the heavy outlay which has already been incurred by the Government. So far as the State of Maryland may be able to contribute to this object by the surrender of the Executive mansion, and the grounds adjacent thereto, I have reason to believe that the most liberal spirit would be manifested by the General Assembly; and I am authorized by the authorities of the City of Annapolis to pledge their cordial co-operation in meeting the views of the Department, to whatever extent may be reasonably expected, to put at rest any further agitation upon this subject.

The State of Maryland could not ask or expect that her claims should be regarded in the face of an admitted public necessity; but she does indulge the hope that, with all reasonable difficulties obviated, the School may not be removed from its present location.

Apart from the practical view here presented, there are considerations of historic interest which, all else being equal, should not be entirely disregarded. The City of Annapolis was intimately associated with the most stirring events of the revolutionary era. It was the rendezvous of the great men of that eventful epoch. It was here that the first Convention assembled which led to the adoption of the Federal Constitution; and the memorable ceremonies attending the resignation of his commission, by the Father of his Country, must always invest it with surpassing interest, to the patriotic from every section of the Union. In perpetuating and keeping alive reminiscences so inspiring to the American heart, their influence would not be lost upon the rising generation—receiving their first instruction at this School—who will derive their most useful lessons of patriotism and love of country from the teachings of that early day. I would suggest the appointment of a joint select committee of the two Houses, to treat with the Government upon this subject.

COMMISSIONER TO REVISE THE LAWS RELATING TO SLAVERY.

The system of negro Slavery having been abolished throughout the country, it becomes a duty that the status of the freedmen in Maryland should now be distinctly and clearly defined under our laws. From the origin of our State government, Slavery has been more or less interwoven with our whole domestic economy. The result has been, that our statute books are burthened with laws—some long since obsolete, but unrepealed—and mostly all calculated to confuse and lead to embarrassment, in the action of our courts. The relations existing in the past between master and slave, being dissolved, the entire system of laws relating to the colored population should be carefully revised by some competent authority, and such changes and modifications recommended as may lead to the adoption of a defined and uniform system for their protection and guidance in the future. In proclaiming freedom to the colored race, the State of Maryland designed to confer upon the negro something more than a mere nominal benefit: she intended freedom in all that relates to person and property. This would not be accomplished, if, after being made free by the provisions of your organic law, the freedmen are left without proper direction under a system of just and equitable laws, or denied the fullest protection in their new relation. There should be entire conformity between these laws, and the principles recognized and proclaimed in your free Constitution. In connection with this recommendation, I should hope that steps may be taken, at an early day, to confer upon the freedman the privilege of testifying in our Courts—a right which has already been conceded in some of our sister States of the South, and which is urged by the strongest considerations of justice and fair dealing.

I would recommend that authority be given to appoint a Commissioner, whose duty it shall be to revise all laws relating to the former status of the negro, and report at the regular session of your Honorable Body in January next, such modifications or additions in the present Code, as may be suggested by the provisions of the New Constitution abolishing Slavery, and the changed relation in which we stand towards the colored race.

REGISTRATION OF VOTERS.

The Act passed for the registration of voters, in furtherance of the requirements of the Constitution, has been threatened, I regret to say, with resistance, in some parts of the State, chiefly among those, who, in the face of the decision of our highest judicial tribunal, persist in denying its constitutionality, and object to the oath of allegiance which it imposes.

I trust and believe, that such threats are confined to a very small class of our citizens. The intention of both the Constitution and the registry law, was simply, to protect the State against treason, and to show distrust of those who had been connected with it. Complaints have been made, that abuses have arisen in the execution of this law, and that qualified voters as well as others have been arbitrarily disfranchised, upon frivolous and irrelevant issues, growing out of mistaken views, of the purpose and meaning of that Act. I am sure that the Legislature designed no more, than that the provisions of the Constitution should be strictly complied with, without the remotest intention of interfering with any loyal citizen, entitled to the right of suffrage. The law, would have been less liable to abuse had it embodied the feature of appeal to some competent tribunal. The Registration Act was passed, as is well known, at a time when the ravages of civil war, were desolating our State. Large numbers of our citizens, variously estimated at from ten to fifteen thousand had left their homes—taken up arms against their State—and subscribed to the most stringent oath of allegiance, to the so-called "Confederate States." I do not propose at this time to discuss events that have passed, farther than to refer to the acts of the Union men of that day, in their praiseworthy efforts, to save their State, from the threatened ruin which hovered over it. I would rather forget the past, than re-open afresh, these fruitful sources of irritation, which should now be permitted to sleep. If these acts were radical and ultra, much more so, was the attempt to revolutionize the State, and break up the Union. Maryland surely could not have disregarded the first duty of self-preservation. It has been alleged, that the dominant party, who now control the State, represents a *minority* of her aggregate population. If it be so, it is the more to be regretted, that so large a number of our citizens, should have identified themselves with the rebellion, as to suffer the power, which this majority controlled, to pass into other hands. Small, however, as the minority may be, it cannot be denied, that it is the fair and legitimate representative, of whatever there is of loyalty among our people. They are the men to whom you are indebted for the safety of your State, and the property which you now enjoy, and without whose uncompromising devotion to the Union, Maryland would have been handed over to indiscriminate destruction.

The elective franchise is a function of the State. To confer or withhold it, is the province of those who are entrusted with the formation of your organic law. Our citizens engaged in this Rebellion have been received with kindness and toleration ; they come back, however, to be dealt with as the people in their wisdom may deem most expedient. Threats of

resistance to the Constitution and Laws could hardly be expected to facilitate them in resuming the privileges of citizenship, which they have deliberately abandoned. In the meantime, they have no just right, in any fair view of their existing relations, to complain of the hardships of a law which they have themselves deliberately provoked, and which intended no more than to place the Government of the State, at a time of imminent danger, in the hands of its loyal defenders. Are they not the legitimate guardians and depositaries of its power?

The Repeal of the Registration Act, in my judgment, will not materially benefit any class of voters who have been heretofore disfranchised under its provisions. The Oath of Allegiance prescribed by the Constitution, makes it incumbent upon the Judges of Election, to do substantially what the Registers are required to do under a fair and proper interpretation of their powers. As the Executive of the State, I do not feel authorized to recommend a repudiation, by the Legislature, of the organic law of your State, by any radical modification of the terms of the Registration Act. To alter or amend the Constitution, upon which this Act rests, would require the sanction of the qualified voters of the State. The regular stated meeting of the General Assembly under the Constitution, takes place in January next. The Delegates who will compose that body may be expected to represent the wishes of the people upon this subject, as the agitation now going forward will show its results in the ensuing fall elections. No other practical mode of dealing with this question occurs to my mind than by its reference to the Representatives of the people, who shall compose that body, who, coming fresh from their constituencies, will be prepared to reflect the public sentiment in any action which may be deemed prudent and advisable.

FEDERAL RELATIONS—RECONSTRUCTION—NEGRO SUFFRAGE.

The successful close of the rebellion suggests to the State of Maryland a careful review of her Federal relations. In the midst of an administration, unparalleled for its moderation, and the brilliancy of its results (not the least important feature of which was the enfranchisement of the country from the degrading stain of slavery) we were called to lament the loss of the representative man, who had been selected as the chosen leader of the people—struck down by the hand of an assassin. With no blot to dim the record of his great fame, he was relieved at the threshold of labors, more formidable and perplexing than those through which he had borne himself with such manly fortitude, just as he was about to turn aside from the bloody field of civil strife, which he had been

mainly instrumental in subduing, to the not less responsible duties of enlarged statesmanship, in the restoration of the revolted States. The signs of a serious disagreement had already appeared among a class of politicians who repudiated the idea of an unbroken Union in their purpose to ignore the existence of the States in rebellion by reducing them at once, in violation of the principle on which our government was founded, to the condition of dependent territories, to be dealt with as Congress in its wisdom might decree. But in deploring the loss of one who recognized the true theory of this government in the perpetuity of the States, as integrals of a united system, which could only be dissolved by consent of the people themselves, we had reason for congratulation that his mantle had fallen upon another—not less the favorite and representative of the masses—whose sound constitutional principles led him to the adoption of the same well defined and maturely considered line of policy.

The work of restoring the States to their former status, in such a crisis, was one of the greatest delicacy and responsibility. Five millions of our deluded brethren, many of whom had been forced into hostility to the Union by crafty and designing demagogues, accepting the stern arbitrament of the sword, appealed for amnesty and pardon; and expressed their readiness to renew their allegiance to the flag which they had so wantonly assailed. There were also those, few in number it may be, in every State, who had never changed the relation of loyalty in which they stood to the Government, whose claim to protection, under their respective State organizations, was as perfect as that of any other section. President Lincoln leaned to the side of mercy and forgiveness, and announced his policy of reconstruction, at an early period, even before the war terminated. He accepted his obligation under the Constitution, to bring the States, whose functions had been suspended by the war, once more in harmony without doing violence to existing guarantees, or the unity of the Government. The war in which we had been engaged was not a *foreign* war against a separate nationality, but a war to put down insurrection among our own people. The power of the Government to do this had been fully vindicated. To argue the non-existence of States as the result of this effort would be to admit the weakness of the Government to maintain its own integrity against internal strife and domestic insurrection.

President Johnson, following in the footsteps of his predecessor, adopted the same plan of reconstruction. He threw himself upon the loyal element of the rebellious States—upon the white population, who alone possessed the right of suffrage under existing laws—extending amnesty in the beginning to those only who had faltered in their loyalty, whose

s tatus was such as to give reasonable assurance of fidelty in the future. Believing, as I do, that the withdrawal, at any period after the rebellion commenced, of the prominent and leading men connected with it—principally those who held the reins of power, on whom its responsibilities mainly rested —would have restored peace to the sections, I cannot but accept the policy of both Presidents, as dictated by the soundest appreciation of the unmistakeable drift of public sentiment, and the highest obligations of constitutional duty and practical statesmanship. To have refused words of kindness and encouragement to so large a class of our population, who are in the future, to constitute no inconsiderable part of our restored Union, and who had announced their willingness to renew their pledges of citizenship and loyalty, would have been a rebuke, damaging to our hopes of successful reconstruction. Could we invoke upon our misguided brethren, now that the rebellion is over, a more terrible retribution than that which their own madness has invited, in the self-condemnation of their high-handed treason against the best and freest government on earth, with the constantly recurring picture of their unnumbered slain—their desolated country—their charred and ruined cities, and their impoverished people, reduced to the last extremities of suffering and starvation? However great may have been the supposed risk attending this line of policy, President Johnson saw the importance of retaining the power in his own firm grasp, until reconstruction had been established upon the basis of universal emancipation, and the full recognition in every State, of the duty of paramount allegiance to the Federal Government.

But the total extinction of slavery was not the extreme demand growing out of the complications with which we were surrounded. A still more formidable issue remained to be disposed of. The policy of continuing the government of the Southern States in the hands of the Anglo Saxon race, began to assume shape and prominence in the threats held out by some, that no State should resume her former status in the Union, without a transfer of the political power which she had always exercised, to the control of the negro race. This was the practical effect of universal negro suffrage, as claimed by some of those who are now arrayed against the President's plan of reconstruction. In some of the Southern States, there was a preponderance of the colored population, while in others the balance was so nearly equalized, as to leave no doubt of their ultimate control under such a system. The transfer of a whole section—nearly a moiety of the national territory—to the dominating influence of a people distinct from our own—buried in the lowest depths of ignorance —was certainly no compliment to the loyal masses of the South, or the gallant army of white soldiers from the Free

States, who had borne the heat and burthen of this rebellion. If disorganization and a division of the spoils among the victors, including the control of the States themselves, was the recognized policy of the Government, surely we had no right to prefer the negro as the sole recipient of these princely bounties. There was no claim of justice or humanity which entitled him to precedence over our own race. In proclaiming freedom everywhere—in severing the chains which bound him—in opening to him the avenues of improvement and education, to fit him for a higher destiny, and the full benefit and protection of our laws, both as to person and property, we discharged our whole duty to the negro. We made him free, in all else but sharing with him the government of the country.

The distinctive characteristics and admitted antagonism of the two races, cannot be lost sight of in the settlement of these grave issues. In discussing the claim of universal negro suffrage, we must understand, in the very outset, the effect of the measure in its full bearing upon the Southern and Border States. It matters not, in some of the States, whether the negro is invested with the right to vote or not. The exercise of suffrage causes no disturbance of existing relations. If we admit his right to vote, we cannot justly exclude him from our representative halls—from the government of our States and Cities—and every other privilege known to our laws. The right to vote assumes the exercise of the power, thus conferred, for the exclusive benefit of his own race. The effect, then, of universal negro suffrage, is the virtual transfer of the Southern States and Southern territory, and it may be some of the Border States, to the ultimate possession and control of the negro; it is the substitution of the African for the Anglo-Saxon race, in a large section of our national domain.

With the Southern and Middle States, perhaps our own, this issue of negro suffrage is a subject of the gravest import. Massachusetts, with her nine or ten thousand negroes, in an aggregate population of twelve hundred thousand souls—Maine, with her six hundred in an aggregate of more than thirteen hundred thousand—Vermont, seven hundred in an aggregate of more than three hundred thousand—New Hampshire, five hundred in an aggregate of more than five hundred thousand, and other Free States standing in the same numerical relation, would hardly claim to approach this issue from a common stand-point, even with our own State. The loyal men of the South, admitted to be ever so limited in number, stand in no relation which would justify, even if the power existed under the Constitution, the forcible surrender of their country into the hands of the African race.

I have advocated the cause of universal emancipation in Maryland, and throughout the country, because I believed it to be a measure of duty, as well as urgent State necessity. But I could not justify myself to the people of Maryland, if I should give countenance to the effort now making by some impulsive men, no doubt sincere and honest in their convictions, to confer universal suffrage upon the negro race. I cordially accept the views of President Johnson in reference to the only practicable mode of adjustment between these conflicting interests. I am willing to do the colored race full justice. If they prefer to remain with us, upon terms not inconsistent with our claim to exclusive control in the government of the State, I am willing to try the experiment, without prejudice, and to the fullest extent. But I am not at liberty to withhold opinions, which were foreshadowed by me, on taking the oath of office under your New Constitution, whose provisions denied the right of suffrage to the negro, that his manifest destiny assigns him, sooner or later—not as the result of legislative compulsion, but of his own voluntary motion—to some more congenial locality, where his distinctive characteristics will furnish no barrier to his enjoyment of social and political rights, and where, under a government of his own free choice, he can pursue and fulfill the measure of his appointed usefulness. In this deliberate judgment I am supported by some of the wisest men of the country. The right of suffrage, by which it is proposed to elevate his condition, and bring him at once upon terms of social and political equality with the white race, will not postpone the solution of the problem which has been so long hanging over us. Should the time ever come, as come it may, when the freedman, under the guidance, as I believe, of unwise counsels, shall insist upon equality in your governmental affairs, in your workshops, in all the varied competitions of labor and industry, I trust that I may not over-estimate the consequences of the irrepressible conflict, which is certain to ensue, when the two races, from causes however trivial, shall stand in accepted antagonism towards each other.

These views are presented in the interest of the African race, and with reference to the warnings of an unmistakable future. I may be in error, but I trust that the sincerity and earnestness of my convictions, never more deliberately expressed, may save me from the suspicion of prejudice, in treating upon a subject of such grave magnitude, both in its bearing upon the harmonious working of our government, and the welfare of four millions of degraded and down-trodden people, who have been made free by the results of this rebellion. If I have not been controlled by the impulses of mistaken philanthropy, or the still more exacting claims of party obligation, I yield to no one in my desire to improve

and elevate the condition of the freedmen, by all practicable efforts. A large class of the people of this country, both South and North, are not prepared now to concede to this claim of universal suffrage to the negro race. Whether that time will ever come, will be for the future to determine. Compulsory legislation certainly will not hasten it. The full protection of the laws, the privileges of education, and the untrammelled enjoyment of his labour, are all that he can justly claim. Of these he should never have been deprived. To force an experiment at this time which is already creating so much of angry feeling, will be to endanger the safety of a people, who are wholly unable to sustain themselves, in the conflict likely to ensue. If it be true, as experience shows, that races and nationalities assimilate and fraternize with each other, in natural sympathy, and the impulses of common interests, what will be the fate of the unfortunate negro, overwhelmed in an unequal contest of numbers, and forced, as he may be, when thus overwhelmed, to yield to a bondage more degrading, than that from which he has so recently escaped.

Maryland has no interest in negro suffrage, beyond the effect which it is calculated to produce upon the general interest and welfare of the country, and the negro himself. Her policy is already settled, by her new Constitution. To withhold from other States the same power which she has exercised, to deal with this and other subjects of a like character, appertaining to their domestic governments, would be to let go the most popular feature, which has heretofore contributed to our bond of union.

President Johnston properly refers to the States each for itself this claim of negro suffrage. Their action, in disposing of it whether favorable or otherwise will be accepted by the people of Maryland.

It seems to me proper and useful at this time that your voice should be heard upon this engrossing topic, during the deliberations of your present session. I can only say for myself, that in dealing with this subject of reconstruction, which concerns so intimately the welfare of our own State, and the future of our beloved country—cordially endorsing as I do the liberal and humane policy of President Johnson—I shall hold myself prepared with the sanction of the people of Maryland, to co-operate in the plans which he has so wisely inaugurated, to restore, by all the proper encouragement, and at a suitable time, the relations of the past, and to re-unite our people once more in the bonds of a common brotherhood.

FOREIGN RELATIONS—THE MONROE DOCTRINE.

An expression of opinion, from the representatives of the people of Maryland upon the conduct of our Foreign Affairs, during the rebellion, would seem called for in justice to the

policy which the Government has been pursuing. Surrounded by embarrassments without a parallel in our diplomatic history, the national honor has been maintained, and our relations with foreign Powers, steadily and almost miraculously preserved. The recognition of belligerent rights in the so-called "Confederate States," in violation of international usuage, and the forcible occupation by France of the territory of a sister republic, flagrant as both these acts were admitted to be, and in either case, justifying what publicists might have regarded as a sufficient *casus belli*, did not necessarily demand immediate action, by any avowed insult to the national honor. In the midst of a gigantic struggle, threatening the very existence of free government, Mr. Seward saw that the time had not yet come to deal with issues, scarcely less vital than those from which we have only just escaped. The re-establishment of peace within our borders, even at some sacrifice of the national pride, in such a crisis, was the first duty of the statesman. It would hardly have been the dictate of common sense or common prudence, to have sought additional and unnecessary complications, in the then perilous condition of our public affairs.

In reply to the Holy Alliance, in 1823, Mr. Monroe said,— "We owe it, therefore, to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and these powers, to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this Hemisphere, as dangerous to our peace and safety. "From that period to the present, the public sentiment of the country has proclaimed the doctrine of non-intervention in the affairs of this continent, with a unanimity scarcely admitting of question, in all sections and with every party. With the close of the war, Mr. Seward finds himself triumphantly sustained. Republican Government has been forever guaranteed on this continent; our sister States have been again re-united; and the American people are once more in a position to deal with the miserable intrigues, which attempted to throw defiance in the face of an approved National policy, from which we had neither the motive nor the inclination to recede. The power of this Government, now happily re-established, will convey a lesson of timely caution to the advocates of Absolute Government wherever to be found. The grandest of military pageants has already startled the world. More than a million of men, represented but proximately the strength of the North, in bringing back the revolted States. A like number of veteran troops, returned to their allegiance, stand ready and eager to co-operate in support of the doctrine of non-intervention in the affairs of this continent. A conflict upon this point, we have no desire to precipitate. Come when it may, Mexico will scarcely receive a shock in regaining her

outraged and usurped sovereignty, by throwing herself into the arms of a sympathizing and kindred people; Canada, with her exposed frontier, separated only by a narrow stream, should she be disposed to reject the principle of self-government and the offer of her own independence, could hardly expect to measure lances with a people who have raised unaided three thousand millions of money, and equipped for the field more than two millions of fighting men; and England and France, forced to struggle for maritime existence, would speedily wake up to the reality of their inherent weakness in such a contest, with a threatening element of their own population hailing the advance of liberal ideas, and ready to fraternize in the great march of human progress. The President was content to leave these Powers to the moral teachings of our past triumphs. His policy was peace. England and France can still have it; but it must be sought in the full recognition of the Monroe Doctrine; and the withdrawal, sooner or later, of every vestige of Monarchical rule from this continent. The issue is one of time merely. The deliberate and cautious policy upon which the President is acting, has received the sanction, I sincerely believe, of the whole American people, and I avail myself of this occasion to commend it to the endorsement and approval of the State of Maryland.

INDEMNITY TO GOVERNOR BRADFORD.

With the commencement of the term of service on which I am now entering, terminates that of the distinguished citizen who, for four years past, has proved himself so eminently entitled to the confidence which has been reposed in him. Throughout the dark and trying scenes of this Rebellion, in no instance, to my knowledge, by any act of his, has he compromised the dignity of the State, or proved wanting in firmness and patriotic devotion to his country. He goes back to a despoiled and ruined homestead. The accepted representative of the State of Maryland, the vengeance of the public enemy has fallen with a heavy hand upon him. Will you not, in this moment of separation, in according to him the merited tribute of "well done, good and faithful servant," place him at least in the situation from which he was drawn in his retirement, to stand at the helm in the stormy conflict which has so triumphantly terminated, and through which he has conducted the old ship of State with such consummate skill? THOMAS SWANN.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
January 10th, 1866.